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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 422

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

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this sense of personality, there is so intimate an association that to the native the personal name, whether of a man, a thing, or a force of nature, *is* that person or object. In other words, the name is not attached to or descriptive of, but is identical with a person or thing.

In ancient times the bays had distinctive names, as had also different sections and localities in each valley behind each bay—streams, springs, hills, mountains, clefts in the mountains, points of land, small islets, and so on. The names of the bays are used at the present time to indicate the valleys. Many of the valley names are descriptive, such as *Tai-pi Vai* (*tai*, sea; *pi*, full; *vai*, freshwater stream), one of the characteristics of that valley being its low, swampy section near the sea, where for some distance inland the salt water backs up into the course of the freshwater stream. Many names of bays and also of valleys are preceded by *hana* or *haka*, which means bay—for example, Hana Menu. Valleys and localities are named also for traditional lands, the names of which occur in genealogies and legends—Vevau and Hiti Nui for example. One striking and important feature of place names in the Marquesas is that they were so frequently changed. There are many examples of this. For example, the ancient name of the valley now called Ta'a Oa was Tohuti. This practice of renaming was undoubtedly often due to the incoming of conquerors; but what other reasons for it there may have been it is impossible to know.

Feast places and temples are frequently named[4] after traditional or present lands: thus A'o Toka, Pua Ma'u. Evidence was obtained to show that these were also commonly named after chiefs or priests, or other persons to whom they were dedicated. Names of sacred places seem rarely, if ever, to have been descriptive.

Tribes were often named after a traditional ancestor, such as Tiu, Mo'ota, Putio. The Tai-pi have apparently taken their name from their valley. *Ati*, meaning "family," or "relatives," or "clan of" very commonly occurs as the first part of a tribal name—thus, Ati Toka, family of Toka (Tonga). This family lived in A'a Kapa valley on Nuku Hiva and are said to have been noted for their great stature.

Legends show that in addition to naming all the features of nature the native gave personal names to all objects that he possessed. I have examples of the naming of different parts of a man's body. Whether or not this was done commonly I do not know. Dwellings, weapons, stilts, tops, and all other possessions were named individually. A canoe had not only a general name but every part of it had its own particular name.

[4] A list of Marquesan place names is in preparation.

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701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata,* eye, face; *hoka,* courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i.* As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu,* the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 347 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participation in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this [552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'ahatai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e,* house; *mamane,* wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Melville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place, but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

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always made at a time when the canoes of the enemy were unprepared to meet those of the attacking party. 716 726

War canoes when they were not in use were either entirely taken apart and their parts distributed among different families, or they were placed in a house near the shore or possibly far up the valley on the feast place of the chief who owned the canoe. Porter (24, pp. 101-2) describes war canoes as follows:

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl shells strung on coconut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Cook (6, p. 299) describes canoes with heaps of sling stones in the bow, the crews armed with slings. In the story of Pohu is mentioned a double war canoe made of two canoe bodies with a platform built up between, the platform being surrounded by a rail that was decorated with tapa and ornamental sennit. In this canoe every seat was named. The crew mentioned [552] in connection with it were a steersman, a man in command on the platform *(papua)*, the paddlers, bailers, and a woman to chant the tribal genealogies. The informant who recounted to me the story of Pohu told me that war canoes were always taken apart on their arrival from a raid. Bodies of victims were thrown on the bow piece of the war canoe (20).

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285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[1]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[552]

[1] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. II, *E*.) Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *fi'ifi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave, tove'o,* or *kou'u;* the back knot, *poue;* the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu,* or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami.* The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi.* These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito.* In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka,* old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

524 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

552 All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upaupa* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

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chanted by the rowers and passengers in the great whale-boats used for travel by sea.

It is well known that chanting accompanied many kinds of labor in the ancient days in Polynesia—the Maoris, for instance, chanted and moved their bodies in rhythm as they planted; and the Marquesan tattooer chanted continuously as he tapped his designs into his subject's skin. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that canoe songs were very generally used in ancient times, to accompany and strengthen the rhythm of the paddlers.

CHANTING IN THE MARQUESAS

In a musical sense the natives of the Marquesas are strangely parodoxical. In comparison with other Polynesians they appear to be lacking in the ability to learn and adapt foreign music—a talent characteristic of the people of most, if not all, of the other islands. Yet no Polynesian people employed music more continuously. In fact, it is scarcely conceivable that any people could give singing a more prominent place in their culture than did the Marquesans of olden times, for chanting or singing accompanied practically every activity in their life, and formed the central feature of most of their rites and festivities. Examples in the native dialect of stanzas of about twenty-five different types of chants used for different purposes or upon different occasions, each doubtless having its peculiar mode of performance, were collected on Hivaoa. In addition to these, some of which he also mentions, Dordillon[6] gives more than fifty names of chants—most of which he defines as "kinds of chants"—this to me seems to indicate that these are names for types of chants rather than names of single songs. To name a chant, a Marquesan combined the term for the type of chant with the name of the person it belonged to or the person or thing it was about: thus the Nani o Kae (Pretty Song of Kae), the Ru'u Tohu'i (Overturning Ru'u), and the Pu'e no One-u'i (Growing-Spell of Dark-earth).

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Their many different types of chants for various occasions, and their mode of choral singing, indicate clearly that the Marquesans had elaborate and thoroughly systematized musical conventions of their own; and the nature of the melodies, as Miss Winne points out (p. 28), certainly is indicative of a considerable development of musical sense. The fact that the Marquesans do not take naturally to our music as do other Polynesians would seem to prove among other things that inability of a people to adapt themselves to European music is not necessarily indicative of lack of musical sense or instincts; or, to put it another way, that ability to learn European

[6] Dordillon, L. R., Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

501 Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia*
824 *speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

396 Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but
313 the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a
322 chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

396 The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen)
501 who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tapu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in
396 special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have
501 had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women.
552 Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

which had been worn out or damaged. The names of the Pua Ma'u canoes were Vaimakamaka, the largest and most important, Vaioto, Taipehe and Meaupiau.

The canoe normally consisted of nine parts, the underbody, bow piece, stern piece, two side planks, and four strips used to cover the side seams. Certain other parts were occasionally added. Each of the large sections was usually hewn from a single piece of wood, while the strips were made of bamboo.

The underbody of one large canoe and part of a second underbody, which had been made in two pieces, were seen in the valley of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva. The history of these objects had apparently been forgotten by the Hakaui natives, but according to Atu Ona informants one of the underbodies belonged to a canoe called Mo'ote which was made in that valley by a *tuhuna* named Kaneautia. This canoe was sent to the chief of Hakaui by a chief of Atu Ona in exchange for *enamoa*, a yellow paint or dye used for anointing the body, prepared in Nuku Hiva by a secret process. The debris of a great temanu tree from which this canoe is said to have been made is still to be seen in Atu Ona.

Hakaui informants said that the two underbodies had belonged to separate craft, not to a single double canoe. On the other hand Christian (10, p. 180) mentions two old canoes in this valley which, from their location, seem to be the same as those here referred to and gives a photograph of a large double canoe, unquestionably Marquesan, which he implies belongs with the reference. In this photograph each of the canoes appears to be complete in itself while the attachment consists of three cross poles, easily removable. It seems probable, therefore, that these canoes were used both singly and together.

A study of the complete underbody—which had been exposed to the weather and was much rotted and warped—brought out the following particulars:

It was 40 feet, 6 inches in length, with a maximum central width of 4 feet, which tapered to 2 feet, 6 inches at the ends. The original depth could not be accurately determined. The two ends of this underbody were identical.

The section of an underbody was much better preserved, having been stored under an overhanging cliff which protected it from the weather. If the underbody of which this had formed a part was similar to the complete specimen it must have been over 60 feet in length. Some old canoe models, which appear to be very accurate, clearly show that the two ends of underbodies were not always the same, the forward end often being made much broader and deeper to facilitate the firm attachment of the bow piece. The extreme shallowness and narrowness of the outer end of the section proves that it was the stern, and if we assume that the whole underbody was of the broad bowed type it is possible that it was not more than 40 to 45 feet in length. The dimensions of the section were as follows: Length 34 feet, 11 inches; maximum width (at a point 4 feet from the inner end of the section) 3 feet, 4 inches; width at stern, 1 foot, 6 inches; maximum depth (outside) 1 foot, 9 inches; depth at tip of stern 4½ inches. The walls were 1½ inches thick at the upper edge, increasing gradually to 2¾ inches in the center of the bottom. The cavity of the underbody had, in cross section, the form of a rectangle with rounded corners. The middle of the canoe was flat bottomed, becoming gradually more rounded toward the stern.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua*, back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction.

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the southeasterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, *"i te tiki"* means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized.

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. XXXIV, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. XXXV, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. XXXV, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d*, left and right) zigzag: or in terms of

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921) 1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the parts they play in the pattern as a whole, such as the *ka'ava* (Pl. x, *B*, 1, *g*); beam supporting the timbers of a house, which performs just this function in the hand pattern; or the *iti'iti'i* (Pl. xxvi, *B*, *h*) which encircles the leg, binding together the side motives.

Many of the design names[4] then, are names given by artists in terms of their particular medium; but motives are also named for objects in nature or in the material culture, of which they were probably originally naturalistic copies. Prominent among these are the *enata* (Pl. xxiii, *B*, *h*) or man; the *nihoniho peata* (Pl. iii, 6, *c*) or shark's teeth; the *hikuhiku atu* (Pl. xxxiv, *k*) or bonito tails; the *pakiei* (Pl. xx, *B*, *f*) or crab; the *fa'amana* (Pl. xvi, *h*) or pandanus branches; the *makamaka* (Pl. xx, *A*, *c*), branches; the *koka'a* (Pl. xx, *B*, *c*), lizard; the *poka'a* (Pl. ix, *B* at base of fingers) or shoulder rest for a carrying pole, which is sometimes represented with the carrying pole in the socket as in the finger motives of Pl. ix, *C*, 1.

A third department of names seems to relate to legends and beliefs; such being the *vai o Kena* (Pl. xxvi, *A*, *g*, center) water of Kena; the *vai ta keetu* (Pl. xvi, *c*), sacred bathing place of chiefs; the *vai me'ama* (Pl. xx, *A*, *d*), water moon; the Pohu (Pl. xxii, *B*, *g*, center), a legendary hero; the *peke'oumei* and the *fanaua* (Pl. xv, *c*), or evil spirits.

Whether these and the naturalistic motives had magical significance is not known today, though there is reason to believe that the *fanaua* were put upon the back of this one woman to protect her from these evil spirits. The only positive statement regarding the significance of tattooing design in the Marquesas that can be made upon the basis of the data available today is that it was considered purely decorative at the time of the cessation of the practice of the art. And it is as pure design that it should be studied and appreciated.

[4] In the explanation of the plates the names of the motives are those given by the persons on whose bodies they are found. It is impossible to secure accurate translations of the majority of design names from natives today, since these have become simply names to them. The names given here are only those which a knowledge of the language and information from natives and from Dordillon seem to make reliable.

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TRANSLATIONS OF DESIGN NAMES

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531
552

aa fanana	row of evil spirits (of a certain kind)
akaaka fa'a	pandanus roots
enata	man
fa'a mana	pandanus branches
fanaua	a kind of evil spirit
fatina	jointure
hei ta'avaha	a diadem of cock's plumes
hei po'i'i	shellfish (of a certain circular kind) wreath
hikuhiku atu	tails of the bonito fish
honu	tortoise
hue ao	calabash bottom
hue epo	dirty calabash
hue tai	compass
ihu epo	dirty nose
ikeike	a kind of shrub
ipu ani	sky bowl
ipu ao	bowl bottom
ipu oto	inside the bowl
iti'iti'i	binding
ka'ake	armpit
ka'ava	ridge pole
kaka'a	lizard
kea	woodlouse, or tortoise or a carved plaque of tortoise shell
kikipu	lips
kikomata	eyes
kikutu	lips
kohe ta	sword
kohe tua	back knife
kopiko	zigzag
koua'ehi	coconut leaves
makamaka	branches
mata	eyes
mata hoata	brilliant eye
niho or nihoniho	teeth
nihoniho peata	shark's teeth
nutu kaha	mouth or muzzle
omuo puaina	a kind of carved bone earring
pahito	ancient patch
paka	splinter
paka oto	inside places
pakiei	crab
pana'o	cut in small slices, traced
papua	enclosure or garden
papua au ti	enclosure of ti leaves
papua enata	native enclosure
peata	shark
peka tua	back cross
peke ou mei	a kind of evil spirit
pia'o tiu	to fold or make into bundles
Pohu	a legendary character
po'i'i	a kind of coiled shell fish
poka'a	a shaped wooden shoulder rest for a carrying pole
pu	conch shell
puaina, puainga	ear
pua hitu	flower of olden times
pua hue	flower calabash
puha puaka	pig's thigh
puto'o	buttocks
ramau	ring
tapu vae	sacred foot
ti'ati'a pu	to encircle several times
tifa	cover
tiki	image
tiki ae	forehead image
tou pae	three head ornaments
tumu ima	hand tree
vahana ae	half a forehead
vai me'ama	water moon
vai o Kena	water of Kena, a legendary hero
vai ta keetu	sacred bathing place of chiefs
veo	tail
vi'i po'i'i	to turn the shell fish

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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The

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entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the new ones boasted finer carving.

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such exchanges the personality of each participant was fused with that of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having